

FRANCE.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

Paris, Besieged, Thursday, Dec. 4, 1851.

On Tuesday morning last, the 2d of December, after having read the journals of the day, and supposing that the city was enjoying its usual tranquillity, I went forth to get my breakfast. On reaching the boulevard, it was at once evident that the Parisians were stirred by some event of unwonted interest. Groups of persons were conversing in whispers at the street corners, while others were hastening to the west end of the city. The waiters were standing idly at the doors of the cafés, with their towels hanging listlessly over their arms. My first idea was that there was to be a grand ceremony at the Invalides, commemorative of the services of the dead Marshal Soult. But the mystery was quickly solved. An official bulletin, posted upon a dead wall, was surrounded by an eager crowd, a dozen deep, who were reading, in silence, the prodigious decree of the President. Standing on tip-toe, and maintaining a sort of uneasy equilibrium, by means of the shoulders of one of the group, I caught sight of the words: "Le Président de la République décrète: Art. 1er. L'Assemblée Nationale est dissoute." And by looking through a vista of arms, I read the signature: "Done at the Palace of the Elysée, this 2d of December, 1851. LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

And thus did I, like the whole city of Paris, learn that the coup d'état had been struck during the night. It was read upon the walls, upon the white paper used only for official proclamations. The *Moniteur* of the morning, the Government organ, contained not a word of the revolution that was then in course of accomplishment; but the newspapers had been published, in utter ignorance on the part of their editors that the Republic was shelved, and the Empire re-established.

This was at nine o'clock, and comparatively few were yet aware of what was going on around them. Those who knew the state of things, directed their steps generally toward the Elysée, the National Assembly, and the great rendez-vous in all revolutions, the Place de la Concorde. It was evident that the dissolution of the Chamber, having been pronounced on paper, was to be enforced in the street. Strong detachments of the line were picketed at the head of the Rue Royale, and surrounded the Madeleine. The Rue Royale was blocked up, and neither carriage nor foot passenger allowed to pass through it.

The Place de la Concorde was also surrounded, and thus all access to the bridge leading to the Chamber was cut off. The troops executed their maneuvers quickly and in silence; not a drum was beat, nor an order given; the sub-officers seemed to be directed by an invisible hand, and to be guided by a voice heard by none but themselves. The object in blocking the Rue Royale, which conducts in a straight line across the Place de la Concorde to the National Assembly, was to prevent the possibility of any direct attempt being made by the ex-Representatives to gain access to their usual place of meeting. Several streets, leading by roundabout ways to the bridge, were left free, as any manifestation through such an approach would have its face against the corners and right angles. The approaches to the Elysée were likewise cut off. The Hôtel de Ville was guarded by a force of 10,000 men; the Palais d'Orsay, where the Council of State held its sittings, and the Quai d'Orsay were lined with a double hedge of troops. The garden of the Tuilleries was shut and one solitary sentinel mounted guard at each entrance. The crowd, as they came in full sight of the preparations, saw at a glance that the President was in earnest, that all his measures had been taken, and that the strong arm of power had laid its grasp upon every point of the city, where a manifestation might be made. In sight of these precautions, every thought of resistance faded away, and every menace was hushed, half formed upon the lips. Throughout the day I did not hear an expression of retaliation, a single hope that the people would rise in revolt. So useless did any attempt seem to arrest the sway from him who by some marvelous, unintelligible means, appeared to hold the city in the hollow of his hand.

It was near 12 o'clock, and the streets were full of overflowing. Dense masses of people collected at the spots where the decree and appeal of the President were posted. When all could not get a sight of them, some one made himself spokesman, and read aloud to the rest. Blouses and black-coats appeared in about equal numbers. Neither one nor the other bore an air of concern, of disappointment, or of anxiety. The aspect of the people was positively gay, without being careless. The loss of the Republic did not seem to sink deep into their breasts. It is true that whenever a general passed through the streets, seeming by his decorations and his equipments to be high in command and consequently deep in the confidence of the President, he was received with a volley of rather dubious compliments. "Vive la République!" predominated; but I did not hear a single *bas* Napoleon, and do not believe it was uttered once during the day. The great secret of the light-heartedness of the people was, that none regretted the downfall of the Assembly, and no one found it in his heart to be very severe upon the President for having turned them out of doors. As the news of the arrests made during the night, and still making as the day advanced, circulated from mouth to mouth, many laughed outright, while none swore or clenched his fists, or ground his teeth. The Assembly fell without a regret, however illegal might be the act which destroyed it. The attitude of the people reminded me of the 24th of February; when, in the midst of the most strange events, without government or law, and the city in their hands, the Parisians, with their wives and daughters, had a grand holiday in the streets. But the attitude of the armed force was not that of the army of February. Then, it gelled before Guizot's Hotel, with arms reversed, and fraternized with the people. But on the 2d of December, it showed that it obeyed willingly, with alacrity, and almost blindly, the orders given by the Dictator it was serving. As far as the army was concerned, the streets resembled the streets of the insurrection of June. The Champs Elysées were a camp, and horses and soldiers bivouacked under the trees. The ground was strewn with straw and bundles of forage were within reach. The court of the Louvre, a part of the Place Vendôme, the stables of the National Circus, were created into provisional barracks. Officers with their orders rode from point to point, and couriers, with rolls of parchment in their right hand, spurred their horses at full speed through the crowded streets. From time to time, a detachment of artillery, brought by locomotives from Versailles, dashed through the city. The attitude of the troops was that of unhesitating obedience, not passive, but willing compliance with the orders of their superior.

This state of things continued throughout the day. There were seven hundred thousand people in the streets, but I have heard of few arrests.

rests made for disorder or disturbance of the public peace. Not a man raised his hand against another; there was neither squabbling, nor hard word, nor angry discussion. The people were allowed full sway in the boulevards, and for several hours in the middle of the day there was neither soldier nor policeman to be seen. As night settled over the city, the crowds gradually dispersed, every one saying to himself that the next day passed in the same tranquillity, the revolution would be a *fait accompli*.

I now proceed to give you a running account of the events of the day. The first arrest made was that of Gen. Changarnier, at his own house, at 4 o'clock in the morning. M. Thiers, who was in deep consultation with him at that unseasonable hour, was also arrested, and the two were locked up at Vincennes. Changarnier attempted to harangue the soldiers, but they refused to listen to him.

Early in the morning there was a meeting of members of the Assembly at the house of one of that body, at which it was resolved that an attempt should be made to enter the Legislative Palace, and between eleven and twelve o'clock about forty of them went for that purpose. They were turned back, and one of them, in offering resistance, was, it is said, slightly wounded. At a later period, information having been received that the Mairie of the 10th Arrondissement was at their disposal, and an offer having been made of the protection of a portion of the National Guards of that legion, about 200 Representatives went thither, and entered into discussion. Among them were MM. Daru, the Vice-President, Grimaud and Molin, Secretaries, De Larcy, Berryer, Dufaure, etc. At this meeting several decrees were resolved upon, and among them was one declaring the President of the Republic deprived of his authority; and another, appointing General Oudinot Commander-in-chief, in the name of the Assembly, of the army of Paris, and of the National Guards. M. Berryer, wearing a tri-color scarf, appeared at a window to harangue the crowd on the outside, and announce the decisions that had been made. He was, however, very unfavorably received, and the cry of *Vive l'Assemblée*, got up by the National Guards, was very faintly echoed. While this was going on, the Mairie was surrounded by a large force of the *Chasseurs de Vincennes*, and a *Chef de Bataillon* entered the room where the members were assembled, and desired them to disperse. They refused, and thereupon were taken *en masse* to the Mazas prison. They were soon, however, offered their liberty on condition of giving their word of honor to keep the peace. This many of them refused to do.

As usual under the state of siege, the newspapers have been decimated. All the Republican papers have been suspended, including the *Presse*, the *Ordre* and *Opinion Publique*, violent Legitimist sheets, have been also stopped. The *Diluvium* appears as usual, but without a line of editorial or comment. The *Constitutionnel* boldly approves of the course of the President. The *Silve* was informed that it might continue its publication, upon certain conditions; these conditions the editors refused to accept, and the seals were therefore put upon their material and stock. The offices of many of the journals were also occupied by the military. The *Patrie* and *Assemblée Nationale* continue to appear. Galignani moves on undisturbed, maintaining the even tenor of its way.

Yesterday, Wednesday, the second day, a decided change was perceptible in the tone and manner of the people. They had had time to reflect upon the monstrous occurrences of the day before. They had been involuntarily led away, seduced, taken captive by the boldness and splendor of the undertaking, and the marvelous skill with which it had been executed. But the night had brought forth counsel; they began to appreciate the matter justly, and to look forward to the consequences. The lower boulevards were filled with a dense crowd of persons, no longer gay and of jesting humor, nor yet excited, nor angry, but lowering, stern and thoughtful. The upper boulevard, and the entrance to the Faubourg St. Antoine soon became the scene of barricades and blood. Several ex-representatives, and members of the Mountain, mingled with the groups, and incited the blouses to revenge. Men began to appear armed with dirks and fowling-pieces. Others ran through the streets, shouting and cheering, and seeking to collect a train of followers. About the same time, appeals to arms, written in red ink, and signed by Michel de Bourges, Madier de Montjau, Emmanuel Arago and others, were posted in the faubourg. In this state of things, a barricade was inevitable. One was soon constructed in a by-street, entering the boulevard, by a band, headed by Baudin, an ex-Representative. A battalion was sent against it, and was received with a running fire. The soldiers repelled, and Baudin fell dead upon the barricade. The insurgents then fled, and the barricade was removed. In half an hour's time, this whole quarter of the city was occupied by the military. Upon the line of the Boulevards du Temple, &c., from the Chateau d'Eau to the Bastille, were posted stray detachments of cuirassiers, lancers and troops of the line. The Place de la Bastille was defended by twelve pieces of cannon, and four loaded howitzers were placed in a position to rake the Faubourg St. Antoine. The corner houses, from which, in June, the insurgents killed seven generals, and the Archbishop of Paris, were seized by the military and occupied by them, from the cellar to the garret. In other parts of Paris, some twenty attempts at building barricades were made during the day, and up to eight o'clock at night, but they were all easily repressed, and generally without blood shed.

Such attempts at resistance, made by handfuls of rash and misguided men, are to the last degree futile and hazardous. You know how speedily ten thousand persons, without leadership, without concert, without guidance, and almost without arms, will melt away before the fire of a few well-drilled battalions. The conduct of the Representatives who have so far abused their influence as to incite the mechanics of the faubourgs to dash themselves against the muzzles of the soldiery, is, at the best, senseless and foolhardy. This city is garrisoned at this moment with one hundred thousand men, with ammunition, fodder, and all the material of war to sustain a ten years' siege. This force obeys the orders given without asking why or wherefore, and has settled the long-mooted question whether the Army will rise upon the People. Even the most bitter enemies of the President are lost in admiration at the skill with which the coup d'état has been struck. It would really seem as if the Emperor had returned to life, and had again taken the field. The investiture of Paris by the armed force which now controls it, is considered worthy of Napoleon Bonaparte. Any attempt at resistance in such a state of things will end in the destruction of those who undertake it. It has always been said that the power will rest with the party with which the army sides. Had it chosen to defend the cause of the Assembly, the Assembly

would have carried the day. Had it deserted to the people, and fraternized with the Republicans, the Republicans would have ruled the city. But it has rallied to the banner of Napoleon, and as long as it maintains its devotion and fidelity, there is nothing to be said or done. When it begins to waver, when suggestions and whispers of its apostasy shall have begun to circulate, when it shall have divided against itself, when any portion of it shall have been suborned, won over, bought over, or converted, then a struggle may be risked, but not till then.

And this is the belief of the vast majority of the Republicans in the city. I saw yesterday several large manufacturers, all of whose journey-men would have descended to the street, had they thought that the soldiers would hesitate or disobey. But the impression is universal that they are immovably attached to the person of the President and to the policy he is pursuing. I also spoke for a moment with one of the most active and influential members of the Mountain. He expressed himself as discouraged and disheartened. "What is there left for us to do? All our leaders are taken, we are without a press to advise, and without the power of holding council and concerting measures. We are completely cut to pieces." He then said, what is very true, that had the scheme been defeated and the President taken, it would have been regarded as the most abominable attempt at usurpation ever made; but executed as it has been, with such wonderful skill, and crowned with such complete success, every body is forced to admire what their better judgment would teach them to abhor.

The present state of things will not continue long. The army of Paris are voting to-day upon the acceptance or rejection of the President for a term of ten years. The army quartered in the various parts of France will vote in the twenty-four hours next succeeding the reception of instructions to that effect from the Minister of War. The result will be known in Paris in less than a week. Then, on the 14th of December, follows the vote of the citizens at large. In three weeks' time France will have spoken its will, and we shall be able to read the future more clearly than at present.

I say nothing yet of the provocations which have driven the President to break his oath and upset the Constitution. It will undoubtedly be proved that the monarchical branch in the Chamber were themselves plotting the overthrow of the Republic and the seizure of the person of the President. This subject is of course involved in much obscurity. Granier de Cassagnac says to-day in the *Constitutionnel*: "Did not the most honored, the most trusted of the Legitimist party send, on Monday last, the following message to the President of the Republic: 'Strike your coup d'état, get rid of the Socialist minority, and five minutes after we will join you.' If this message be denied, we will call by name the Representative who sent it, and the representative who carried it." If this be true, it will be easy to convict a fraction of the Chamber of endeavoring to persuade the President to commit a coup d'état in their behalf; they can hardly claim the right to complain, if the blow, when struck, proves to be in the President's interest and to their own confusion.

Should Louis Napoleon succeed in his attempt, the Empire will be the issue in fact, though not in name. On the occasion of the election, the voter is to express his wish, 'Yes' or 'No,' upon the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte for 10 years. In case the majority of the votes given should be in the negative, he declares solemnly that he will retire from power. In case he should receive the majority of the suffrage, however, the Government will be conducted upon the following system, prepared by the President.

1st. The Ministers will be entirely dependent upon the Executive. This deprives the Assembly of the power of forcing a crisis, by passing a vote of condemnation upon the conduct of the Ministry.

2d. The Council of State, "composed of the most distinguished men in the country," is to possess the initiative in proposing the laws and examining them in the discussion before the Chamber. Upon this clause the Empire hinges. The Council of State, no matter how composed, whether of men chosen by the country, the Legislative Assembly, or directly by the President, has alone the right of originating a law. The Assembly has only to pronounce upon it by accepting or rejecting it. In no case can it itself propose a law.

3d. The Legislative Assembly is to be elected by universal suffrage, but as it does not possess the right of Parliamentary Initiative, amounts to nothing at all.

4th. There is to be a Second Assembly, "composed of all the distinguished men of the country; a balancing power, guardian of the fundamental compact, and of the public liberty." The precise nature of the duties of this body does not appear. It may be a sort of Council of Notables, or a body designed to create and perpetuate a Napoleonic Peerage.

There is to be no Constitution, of course; the clause just quoted speaks of a "fundamental compact," but where it is to come from, nobody knows. The whole power is vested in the President. The Council of State depends upon him, and consequently the laws proposed by that body to the Legislative Assembly will be such as he approves and none other. In short, the plan of Government proposed by Louis Napoleon is the most complete despotism ever conceived by the brain of man. It is very doubtful whether this country is prepared to retrograde fifty years to a system in consonance with the people and the civilization of that period. However, it is worse than useless, in this age of wonders, to speculate upon a probability a fortnight in advance. The President may not live a week; the sun may never rise again; the sea may give up its dead to-morrow; the moon may set in the east; anything may happen even with perfect propriety, and the more unlooked-for, the more monstrous and inexplicable an event may be, the more will it be in harmony with the era in which we live.

Newspaper Articles. We copy articles from the only two journals which are allowed to express themselves in Paris:

The following from the *Constitutionnel* signed by Dr. Vennart, the journalist who has taken a large share in support of the "regime" which is now predominant will be read with interest. This is the first time, for more than fifty years, that the country has understood its true interests, and in the first time that authority has shown much decision and courage as the factions, who are the fierce enemies of order and labor. The strategy of insurrections, the grand art of making barricades, the practical science of insurrection, have made immense progress since 1830. In the 2d of December, 1851, the masses in their turn have proved that they also have progressed in good sense. In the spirit of justice, and in foresight, they have just proved that they are not only capable of the love of family and the love of labor, that double duty which is imposed upon us by God. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, by reestablishing that universal suffrage by which he himself was elected, has gained the hearts of the honest and laboring classes, who have made him their master, and who know that the intrigues of parties lead to insurrection—insurrection to barricades, and barricades to anarchy, misery and ruin. It is many months since we first wrote that

the repeal of the law of May 31, would be a pledge of respect for the rights of the citizen. Well, now, after the 2d of December, during these elections, which have opened some spots of the metropolitan with human blood, which has been the result of the working classes in Paris and throughout France, the law of May 31, is not only in force, but it is maintained. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has remained at his post, regarding the soldiers of insurrection concealed behind barricades with contempt. They have honestly said to themselves, "We are not fighting for a principle, we are fighting for a man, and we are fighting for a man who is not worth fighting for." What is there to fight for? The President of the Republic has thoroughly understood the times in which we live, and he does not run the risk of the policy of the name he has chosen. He has not the right to do anything, but that it imposes upon him the necessity to do well. The repeal of the law of the 31st of May is a first step in a new and loyal policy. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has understood that the policy of the name he has chosen is not only in force, but it is maintained. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is a title to the confidence and gratitude of the country. Nevertheless it must be well understood that all is not yet finished. Socialism, strongly organized, and with a long and honorable history, is not only in force, but it is maintained. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is a title to the confidence and gratitude of the country. Nevertheless it must be well understood that all is not yet finished. Socialism, strongly organized, and with a long and honorable history, is not only in force, but it is maintained. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is a title to the confidence and gratitude of the country. Nevertheless it must be well understood that all is not yet finished. 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